"EAST PAKISTAN"

by

General KM CARIAPPA(Rtd)

India is one of the founder members of the United Nations Organisation which was founded away back in 1945. As such, we have an obligation to give it our loyal support at all times to enable it to operate impartially and effectively to ensure world peace. Pakistan - which consists of two zones--West Pakistan and East Pakistan--is also a member of the UNO. The creation of Pakistan, which was carved out of the sub-continent of the old India, was agreed to by the then leaders of our two countries.

When Field Marshal Ayub Khan became the President of Pakistan, he instituted what is known as controlled democracy which, I believe, had only 80,000 selected voters. This constitution appears to have worked well for some time, but, later it came under very strong public criticism resulting in Field Marshal Ayub Khan giving up the Presidentship in favour of General Yahya Khan. Some time after General Yahya Khan became the President, he held general elections in West Bengal Pakistan and East Pakistan with the idea of setting up, in due course, a democratic Government. In this General election, in East Pakistan Sheik Mujibur Rehaman's party had a landslide victory. After these elections, the President of Pakistan, had a series of discussions with Sheik Mujibur Rehman, the very popular leader in East Pakistan, to consider his 6 point programme for the establishment of a new democratic Government. The President did not accept all these 6 points and so the discussions broke down.

From Press Reports it is seen that in the wake of this break down, serious internal disorders affecting the law and order situation in East Pakistan broke out. In order to maintain law and order, the papers reported, Pakistan Government took military action. As the situation got worse more intensive military action was taken with corresponding increase in the Guerilla activities organised by the Freedom Fighters.

I had gone to East Pakistan on my own for about a week in the latter half of September 1964 to find out what had led to the serious killings early in 1964 of innocent people both on our side and in East Pakistan. I met there a number of East Pakistan citizens, both Muslims and Hindus, during my travels and talked to them about the problems of refugees and the minority classes in East Pakistan. From these talks, I gathered that they felt they were being treated as 'step children' by the Pakistan Government. They complained that not much money was being spent on the development of East Pakistan while the bulk of the money which came in from foreign countries, was spent in West Pakistan. They further said that although 80% of the foreign exchange earned by the Pakistan Government was earned from the export trade from East Pakisten in respect of Jute, Tea and other commodities, all the big banks were in West Pakistanand were controlled by some 200 families there and by only som some 15 families of East Pakisten. The Muslims and the West Pakistan and their ways of life were all very different. They further said that they had no senior officers from East Pakistan in either administrative or in defence services. They did not like this. They through that this their 'pent-up' feelings of unhappiness in this regard may come to surface before long. They had my understanding. I had brought these matters to the notice of the authorities concerned in Pakistan and in India. The overwhelming victory of the East Pakistan party in the recent

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Incidentally, I wish the use of the letters 'V.I.P.' be done away with in peace time. They are used only in war time for security reasons and this is correct and essential, but definitely not in peace time.

The need to have so many 'Public holidays' must be looked into again and the present numbers cut down. As for 'holidays' when high dignitories die - I think the word 'holiday' is quite inappropriate. 'Holiday' implies time off for enjoyment and relaxing and surely no one wishes to 'enjoy and relax' on a day of mourning. Only the following need be done on such days to honour the dead dignitary.

a) Immediate public announcement of the death.
b) Cancellation of all public festivities and festive functions on the day.
c) All flags to fly at half mast.
d) Work in all public offices, public institutions of any kind educational institutions, public and private, stop, for say one hour, at times to be fixed by their respective heads, when all those working there would be collected at some central place where the head would give a short 'obituary oration' about the person who has died and then ask them to observe half a minute's silence praying to God to keep the departed soul in peace for ever and then get back to work with a resolve to work more determindly and more vigorously to produce more for the country.

Note : If the day happens to be already a 'holiday', this ceremony should be gone through on the very next working day.

e) Restaurants and shops may close voluntarily, say for one hour and no more.

f) Where the person dies, those public servants and students residing in that place should be given leave to go and pay homage to dead and to accompany the funeral procession.

g) Prayers to be offered at appropriate places of worship.

All public mourning should be spontaneous and NOT by order. This is all that need be done. The present practice of ordering 'paid public holidays' throughout, is to my mind not right or proper, for the millions of man hours thus lost in factories etc cost the country crores of rupees and we certainly cannot afford this. Wages are ordered to be paid to labourers for no work done because some dignitary has died. Economically this is not justified.

Seventeen years after Independence the public being expected to go to air-ports, railway stations, line the streets, put up 'welcome arches' and so on to welcome our own dignitories who visit towns, cities and places in the normal course of their routine duties and many officials to follow them in fleets of cars to their place of residence is all meaningless and is quite unnecessary. This tamasha, is repeated when such dignitories depart after their visits. All these cost money and valuable time when every paisa and every second are needed for our Five year Plans.

21. MUSLIMS IN INDIA.

There are , I think, over fifty million muslims in India, the country with the third largest muslim population in the world. They have chosen to stay on here voluntarily, after partition in 1947. They are spread out throughout the length and breadth of the country, enjoying the fullest liberties as citizens of India. Many are holding some of the highest offices in our Government in all its departments, in and out of India. Quite a few have their close relatives living in Pakistan, some of whom are holding high offices there too. — and they with each other

D R A F T

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From Press reports it is seen that in the wake of this break down, serious internal disorders affecting the law and order situation in East Pakistan broke out. In order to maintain law and order, the papers reported, Pakistan Government took military action. As the situation got worse more intensive military action was taken with corresponding increase in the Guerilla activities organised by the Freedom Fighters.

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of unhappiness in this regard may come to surface before long. They had my understanding. I had brought these matters to the notice of authorities concerned in Pakistan and in India. The overwhelming victory of the East Pakistan party in the recent elections had given the East Pakistanis the hopes of their chance atleast to have their "wrongs" put "rights" when their victorious party became the ruling party. It is this denied chance that has brought about this crisis in Pakistan. The intense desire of East Pakistanis to have their own Democratic Government will, I feel, continue for long and that no amount of military action may be able to suppress this desire.

As a result of the military action and the guerilla warfare activities, as reported in the Press, some tens of thousands of unfortunate, unarmed innocent civilians, men and women, old and young, have been killed and their humble properties destroyed. These wholesale killings are indeed an unpardonable crime and do deserve outright condemnation of the world. However, it is all most tragic. These killings have resulted in driving out of East Pakistan terror stricken, harmless civilians, who have been pouring into our country in very large numbers which has now reached an alarming figure of 6 to 7 lakhs. I believe, these refugees consist of all communities - Hindus, Muslims and others -- more Hindus than others. They have all fled from their homes because of complete insecurity to their lives there.

This large influx of refugees into India is imposing on our Government an inescapable obligation on purely humanitarian grounds, which is causing grave anxieties to our Government, mainly from the financial point of view. At a time when we need every paisa we have to implement the Government's plans for the "Garibi-Hatao" and other important national development projects, a very appreciable portion of the money needed for our country for these purposes has to be diverted to meet the high cost of feeding, housing, clothing and hospitalising of these millions who have come to our land seeking shelter here. I know it is our duty to give them shelter, but, we cannot have them living on our land indefinitely as we cannot 'foot-the-bill' of looking after them entirely on our own limited resources. Their long stay on our soil will seriously shatter our own country's economy and indeed the welfare all round of our 550 million people.

This refugee problem cannot be regarded as a matter of only India's concern. It is, in fact, an indisputable International Concern and so the UNO will have to accept almost total responsibility, financially and otherwise, for providing food, clothing, shelter and so on to these millions. The UNO is the only body in the world which can mobilise International help for this sacred cause.

The refugee problem will remain for long unless and until conditions are created in East Pakistan to give them a feeling of security to prompt them to return to their homes safely. Here again, the UNO can and must play its inescapable part to pursuade the Pakistan Government to stop the military action and the Freedom Fighters to stop their guerilla actions immediately and then mutually agree to sit round a table to discuss the East Pakistan issue amicably to find an answer to satisfy both. This is indeed a political matter which cannot be solved by military action, no matter how strong and how sustained it may be. In this round table talk, the UNO can certainly offer its services to help. There is no time to waste. Any delay on the part of the UNO to act will certainly have serious repurcussions on the neighbouring country and countries, which may result in local wars breaking out and thus perhaps tragically leading to World War III. This must be stopped, come what may, and only the UNO can do that,

been generously prepared from the outset to give us this help liberally. This is NOT alignment. We do not wish to be dragged into 'MILITARY PACTS' but if we do not get rid of this threat speedily, the 'cold war' we will be fighting - God only knows for how long - will cost us crores and crores of rupees to build up our defences. This will be at the cost of depriving our millions the right to have more amenities of life - food and shelter in particular. All our Nation building projects will be dangerously hampered. We do not want to resort to the use of military force to solve this disupute - but by the refusal of China to accede to our request for friendly negotiations, on the lines of the Colombo proposals, we may be compelled to use force to safeguard our National honour and dignity.

The Defence Minister has just told us that we are building up our Defences in a big way, a 825,000 Army with modern weapons and equipment, a forty-five squadron Air Force, naturally of the latest types of aircraft, and a corresponding build up of our Navy on modern lines. What with the Territorial Army, the N.C.C. and the National Discipline Scheme, where is the money going to come from, for all these ? I believe our National debt is in the vicinity of Rs. 7,900 crores or so already. Can we really be ever self sufficient for all our defence needs in the 'nuclear' world of today ? Can we afford to pursue an 'isolationistic' defence policy, when the security and the Independence of our country with her nearly 500 millions are at stake ?

Our present dangers are a challenge to us, but in meeting challenges of history, people grow in greatness. These dangers demand of all Indians, community of thought and purpose. They demand a restoration of the moral order from which alone true social order can derive.

3. OUR DUTY TO OUR COUNTRY

We are members, one of another dependent even for our daily bread on the work of many. From the community we have our livelihood. To the community we owe a just return of loyalty and honest selfless service in the transactions of life.

Each of us has a duty to defend the community against evil design and aggression, physical or moral, and to preserve for our children that which was given us. The development of a true united community amongst ourselves and with all people of good will is the one certain way to peace at home and abroad.

A new and determined efforts from all Indians is needed to advance National moral standards. This advance has to come from individuals in their personal and vocational relationships, in and through the lives of families, in and through all our voluntary associations, trade unions, employer's and professional groups, the organisations of women, of servicemen and all the societies which our people, particularly the youth - the leaders of tomorrow, have created to express their cultural, social, industrial and economic interests. Moral standards cannot be kept high if those at the top who preach them, live the life of 'Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde'. Our simple millions will respond to any call made on them to make individual and collective sacrifices and work unitedly - IF those in authority who make this call are known to be themselves honest, sincere and selfless, possessing a high standard of moral integrity. Alas, not all leaders are this. People are led up the garden path by 'vote catchers' promising the 'voters' a land of milk and honey, if they voted for them, which promises they seldom do or can redeem.

There should be an adequate understanding of the nature of law and of its necessity as the principle of order in a free society. All of us must take the active and loyal concern in public affairs proper to citizens of a free society, inbued with a high sense of civic duties and discipline. We must examine our conscience and our motives in all our associations with our fellows. If each does his part, the whole community will be renewed. We must think now of the future into which our children go, that we may shape it well and wisely for them.

of imparting spiritual education to the young generation, should receive high priority. The youth must be taught to look upon religion as a personal factor and not for any collective gains of ones own community.

In order to obtain a uniform agency and certainly to get most effective results, for the training of our youth in discipline and to inculcate in them all the attributes of a good leader, I have listed earlier on, I cannot think of a g better way than concentrating ONLY on

1) National Cadet Corps (N.C.C)
2) The Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement

and nothing else - no National Discipline Scheme and no A.C.C as I consider they are very expensive and redundant. I am happy N.C.C. training has atlast been made compulsory in all colleges. But unfortunately "The Scout Movement" is not receiving the impetus and encouragement it should receive.

N.C.C. training.

I would like to see only N.C.C. rifles throughout the country and no N.C.C. (the khaki clad youth). 'Rifles' are very much more economical than the N.C.C. (Khaki). The N.C.C. is not the 'Third Line of Defence' as some seem to thing - it is. As I know it, the main aim of N.C.C. training is to train our youth to be good leaders - not only for our Defence Services, but for leadership in every other walk of life. The general training in it, therefore, should be biased principally towards this aim and not for only military service. Military training and Military Service are two distinct factors. The civil population are concerned only with the first, whilst those electing to serve in the Defence Forces are concerned with both. So, from amongst the millons of our student youth undergoing N.C.C. training - only those who show the aptitude and are considered fit for Military Service - should be given advanced training in army, naval and air force subjects, as a separate part of their training to fit them for Military Service. The others in their training may be taught to use a rifle or a revolver and no more.

As for the girls in the N.C.C., we do not want them to be trained as "Amazons" to fight the human enemy on the battle field. We have enough men to do this. We do not have to have our girls trained in the use of 'fire arms' to produce "Rhansi-ki-Ranis", "Kittur Chennammas" and "Joans of Arc". If we must have them in the N.C.C. the ONLY training they need be given, should be in :-

1) First Aid.
2) Signal Training.
3) Driving M.T.
4) Physical Exercise.
5) Shooting a Revolver.
6) Unarmed combat for self defence;

but please let them do all this in Shalwars or Skirts or Sareews and not become 'Tom Boys' in trousers and bush shirts. The

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Here are two important matters which might be serious thought to, by higher authorities.

1 Cannot the subject of Education be under t... and not be a State subject as it is now. As to-day, with the ushering in of the Linguistic States, our land is "Balkanised". Our studen... be brought up to think in terms of India as a ... but they are not now.

2 Can a Committee of say three specially elected persons who are NOT in politics nor had been in the Education Department be set up - to carry out a thorough investigation of the matter of "Student Indiscipline". This Committee might consist of -

(a) A Senior Retired Army Officer.

(b) A Senior Retired Civil Servant.

(c) A senior Business Man.

The Secretary of this Committee would be a specially elected student from any College Students' Union.

Such a Committee would give the Government and "unbiassed" and fair report on the root causes of these unfortunate incidents and would make suggestions to remedy them.

Now to the Youth - my fervent appeal.

I have faith in you that you will grow to be great citizens of our land and of the world. I have met tens of thousands of you, all over the country, and I have talked to you frankly and firmly, with affection for you. You have impressed me. You have given me hopes. There is really nothing wrong with you fundamentally, but you have amongst you some real "bad-bats" who mislead you and stir up in you the wrong and most harmful spirit of taking the law into your hands and doing the things which you must in your saner moments greatly repent and be thoroughly ashamed of. Some such "bad-bats" are in the pay of subversive political elements. Treat them as your enemies and kick them out. It is not for you to decide as to how your schools and colleges should be run- how easy or difficult your question papers should be -whether a fellow student has been rightly or wrongly punished. You do not belong to a "Union"- to go on strikes and become indisciplined. Please do not waste a single moment of your precious school or college days. You have so much to learn to prepare yourselves to play your parts in our National building work, when you grow up. Remember one of these days you will yourselves be burdened with the great task and responsibility of governing our millions. If you indulge in strikes and indiscipline now in your young days how can you "pull-up" similar disorders amongst the youth, when you are grown up. Learn to obey my young friends - you can then command. Learn to be good servants, you can then be good masters.

Whatever representations you may wish to make- please make them in a constitutional manner. Spend your off class hours in healthly recreation - on the games field- in excursions and so on. You are fortunate to be young. You are still in the dawn of your life- the night is a long way ahead. You have many opportunities to serve our Motherland- to make her the light of the world. We are the inheritors of great culture and civilization. Readour past history and learn from the mistakes made and work ceaselessly for the unity and strength of our land to ensure that we will

not groan under foreign yokes any more. Do not ge up with active politics now but study them only theoretically. Your main job is to learn- learn and le to be physically fit, mentally alert and morally corr Let your resolution be -

"No more strikes or acts of indiscipline - both of which is to acquire knowledge - at all times - from our teachers and elders whom we will respect and obey even at the cost of our lives. We will represent our grievances, if any, to our teachers constitutionally - through the school/college Unions. We will prepare ourselves to be people with character and discipline to make our country strong".

My young friends - I am at your service. I have dedicated the rest of my life to help you, if you want me to, to become the good citizens of India, which I know you can be, because you have all the necessary attributes of a good citizen, latent in you to become such sons and daughters of the soil.

India needs your services my young friends. You are here "Architects". You are our hopes of tomorrow. Do not let us down.

A new and determined effort from all Indians is needed to advance National moral standards. This advance has to come from individuals in their personal and vocational relationships, and through the lives of families, in and through all our voluntary associations, trade unions, employers' and professional groups, the organisations of women, of servicemen and all the societies which our people, particularly the youth who are the leaders of tomorrow, have created to express their cultural, social, industrial and economical interests. Moral standards cannot be kept high if those at the top-who preach them, live the life of "Dr Jekyl and Mr. Hyde", Our simple millions will respond to any call made on them to make individual and collective sacrifice and work unitedly, if those in authority who made this call are known to be themselves honest, sincere and selfless, possessing a high standard of moral integrity. Alas, all leaders are not this. People are led up the garden path by some "vote catchers" promising the "voters" a land of milk and honey which they seldom do nor can redeem.

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We must work ceaselessly in unity to make India strong by having a high standard of National character and National morale, by providing for economic stability, industrial self-sufficiency and physical virility in the people.

It should be our primary duty to see that we as a people live a lif

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a) At least one, if not, two square meals a day,
b) a roof to sleep under,
c) clothes to wear,
d) education and medical facilities,
e) good inter-communications-roads, transport railways, air services and postal services,
f) social justice and national security, and
g) the freedom to enjoy the liberties as citizens of a Democracy with free speech and the freedom to practice our religion as personal matters and to live up to the spritual values left to us as a heritage from the past.

SENSE OF DUTY

We have got to work not only in terms of so many hours a day or so many days in the week, but in terms of the job in hand and that done well and soon, eventhough it may mean our having to go without food and rest on occasions. The labour class, whilst justifiably demand for better wages etc, MUST be made, by various Labour Unions to put in honest hard work during the specified hours of work a day. Sense of duty must be instilled in every one in our country. We are not really "duty minded". We must appreciate our obligations to our employers in the quantum of work we must put in. If in factories and farms wages are forced to be increased without any corresponding increase in the out turn of work, inflation will inevitably follow and this will be harmful for us all round. This is a matter in which Labour Unions can help in a big way. A good labour union is an asset to any business concern.

We can and we will produce much more in our factories, fields and in our offices, if we put in honest hours of work a day. Let us emulate the Japanese and the Germans in their superb sense of duty and hard work look what they have done since the last war in the magnificent industrial and economic development of their countries, by sheer determination and selfless hardwork. They are today, two of the most advanced and prosper

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our nations in the world. They concentrated on the building up of their countries after the war and gave second place to matters outside their lands. Let us all - our leaders and the people - pay more honest and earnest attention to our national and internal affairs - rather than spend our energies and time in "putting our fingers in other people pies", in countries outside our own, without always being invited to do so by others.

THE PRIVILEGES OF PEOPLE IN A DEMOCRACY

We are a democracy and as such only that political party is voted into power by the people in which the majority have the confidence and the faith to rule the country wisely and well. It behoves such a party to listen to and respect public opinion so long as such opinion is balanced and is not merely destructively critical. We have a right to speak out our minds frankly and fearlessly, but alas we have no "public opinion" worth the name.

I find most of us live a selfish life. We think of our own interest and our own needs and are not prepared to make any sacrifices for the cause of our millions. Our public opinion is almost nil.

If our millions feel unhappy with the present internal situation where there is so much of uncertainty about security and safety from every aspect and if they feel that a change in the set up of the Government is absolutely essential for the good of the country, they should ask for this change and not wait for politicians to take decision on their future and so on. In the last years whenever I have been, I have been approached by many civilians - on one occasion by two fairly prominent members of a very old political party - and asked "when will th Army take over, when will we have a military coup". To each such person and there have been hundreds all over the country, I have said "There will be, nor can there ever be a military coup in India. I have never myself been a supporter of military coups at all, but there can be a Military Rule". This Military Rule can only come if the politicians voluntarily request the Armed Forces to take over the country for a whil

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until the political situation improves or the masses, the millions, unite and rise in a big way and demand that we must have Military Rule because of the continuing danger to life and property caused by indisciplined people in the garb of various self-organised protectors of the interests of labour when the interests and welfare of labour can be guaranteed ONLY through Law and Order and NOT by indiscipline. People should demand for this and they have a right to. They can also say "We have far too many political parties; they are all dissipating the energy, the efforts, the work and the finances of the Nation". They can demand that all these numerous political parties of today should be scrapped and can have instead only Three Parties, the equivalents of Labour, Liberal and Conservative. They should say that when the Military Rule has stabilized the internal situation of the country and there is peace and quite and respect for law and order, then the Nation will go to the polls and cast their votes. Whichever party wins will be the "Ruling Party", the next one will be the "Strong Healthy Opposition" and the third party will be the 'balancing party'. We have a sacred duty to our children of today and the millions more to be born tomorrow and to posterity that we leave for them, as a legacy, an India which is peaceful, plentiful, prosperous and powerful economically, industrially and physically as a truly democratic country.

In this context, I quote what Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said in Delhi on 25th July 1948. He said;

> "I think it would be a sad day if people stop criticising and condemning those in authority because without people strongly criticising and pointing out the errors of their ways, people in authority often go wrong. They get swollen-headed and complacent, They think everything they do is right and everything else is wrong. That is the danger, eventhough they may be Congressmen. Therefore people in authority have to be checked and kept up to the mark".

It is either a feeling of "fear" and/or a feeling of "insecurity" which makes the people to restrain openly expressing their observations

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which makes the people to restrain openly expressing their observations on "Men and Matters". Fear because of the "vindictive" spirit of some politicians in authority to have their "own back", if some one speaks frankly on their "commissions" and "ommissions" which may not be palatable to such authority. Flattery seems to get things done more easily than truth, which to some is bitter. Patriotic utterances and suggestions on matters affecting the good of the Nation are NOT the monopoly of politicians alone. Public opinion must be assertive and must be expressed freely in public and not confined only to the four walls of a room as seems to be the practice with many of us today.

The party in power must always have a healthy and strong political opposition, without which it will inevitably become "dictatorial". It is not good for the progress of any democratic country, to have a one party rule at the Centre indefinitely. Should there be no other party to replace it and if it has been too long in power and shows signs of "staleness", the people then should, in the elections, exercise their privilege to have that party "Out" and ask the head of the State to have a "Government of talents" regardless of their political affiliations, until a party acceptable to them comes up.

LANGUAGE AND BORDER ISSUES

Let us NOT please "break our heads" over the language nor over the "Inter-State-Border" issues. Please let not Hindi be imposed directly or indirectly on unwilling people. Imposition of HINDI on non-HINDI speaking people and possibly making it the language in which to take public service examinations and tests for all-India jobs will certainly be a very serious handicap to the non-HINDI speakers, who will thereby be denied equal opportunities to get All India Jobs. Let the people themselves, in due course, choose what language they want. There are some sixteen regional languages so we cannot have one of them as our National language. The alternative suggestion that these tests be taken in "regional languages", cannot be the right answer, although it may have some "appeasing" effect on Non-Hindi speakers.